CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Vol. LXVIII PITTSBURGH, PA., FEBRUARY 1934 No. 2

In Spite of Its Limitations

IN one of his pagan deliverances Glenn Frank included the following scrap of an idea. In the attempt to solve the age-old liquor problem he urges that statesmen must recognize the marked limitations of law as an instrument of social control and provide a federation of social control and self control in the interest of moderation.

Any Christian will at once grant the fact that no legal enactment can ever directly change human nature. He will just as readily grant the fact that in any sort of popular government it is impossible to maintain the law much above the moral standards of the people. But these two facts as premises do not lead to the conclusion that in a period of moral slumping, the laws should at once be made vicious and immoral so that vicious and immoral people who want to do evil may be able to live comfortably within the pale of the law. And that is just the vicious logic that Glenn Frank and the majority of the political leaders are cramming down the nation's throat today.

Law does have its limitations but it also has its vital functions in human progress that make it necessary in spite of its limitations and no nation can ever continue to develop its morality without embodying the best of its concepts in law. No nation can by education lift the morality of its people above its laws.

The United States seems to have reached an impasse in its moral progress when viewed through any one of the Ten Commandments. This has started a moral retrograde. This is evidenced by the clamor to pull down the moral laws set as standards by previous generations. This retrograde will never be stopped by any "federation of social control and self control in the interests of moderation" in evil, or by repeating the old saw from which this new statement came "you can't make men moral by law."

Lowering the standards which a more vitally Christian age has set up to suit the tastes of a backslidden and backsliding generation simply hastens moral degradation and social dissolution. The only rational course is to keep the law and to devote the energies of leadership to the task of bringing the people up to the standard of the law.

In this scheme the law functions in four ways:

1 It recognizes what is right and for social good.
2 It erects the right as a standard of conduct for all the people.
3 It seeks to protect and assist every one that desires to do right.
4 It seeks to restrain all who desire to do wrong.

No education, except in the case of those whose nature has been regenerated by union with Christ, will ever be able to overcome the educative power of the law. The law will finally set the standards for the multitude. To achieve progress it must always be kept a little higher than the moral concepts of the unthinking multitude. That goes for every moral law and every problem whether economic, social, fiscal, political, moral or religious, that is plaguing the American people today. The law should be the standard toward which religion and education is urging the people. The moment that "federation of social control and self control" begins to work toward recognized evil the nation heads for destruction.

The Growth of Gambling in the United States

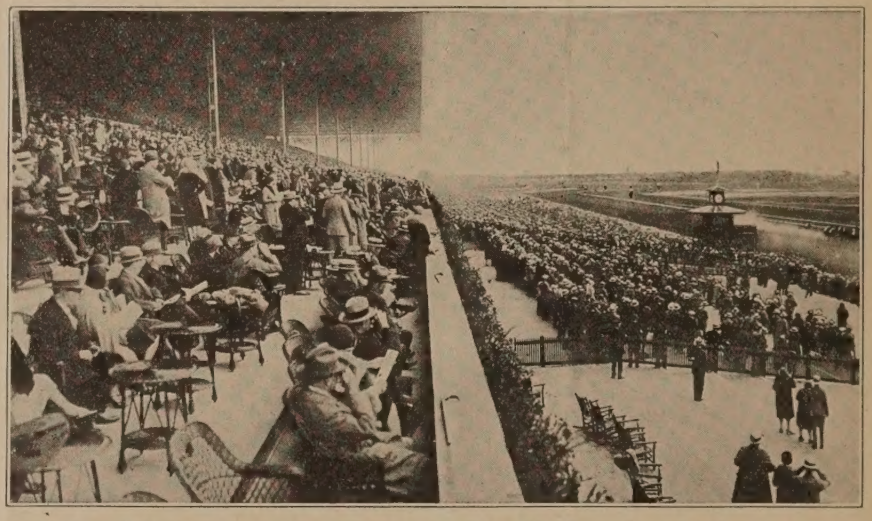
By Henry N. Pringle, Washington, D.C.

GAMING, by cards, dice, lotteries, spindles, wheels, table layouts and book-making, was common in the United States, prior to 1890. In that year, the closing of the "Louisiana Lottery" by federal enactment and exclusion of lotteries from the mails profoundly affected public opinion as to the ethics of gambling. Soon afterward gambling laws were enacted, or amended, in most of the states and territories, and 19 of these adopted constitutional amendments against lotteries. The amendments of Delaware, Nebraska, New Jersey and New York also prohibited race-track gambling. During the next 25 years, 117 tracks for gambling on running races were closed in 31 states. In North America, Mexico and Cuba, during 1916, only 36 race-tracks for gambling were in operation. In all of the United States, lotteries, punch-boards and slot-gambling machines had become unlawful. In January, 1915, race-track gambling was permitted by law only in Kentucky and Maryland; but, by court decisions and gambler's subterfuges, it existed at one or more places in Louisiana, New York and Ohio.

Bootleg Gambling

The predatory gambling interests, at about this time, discovered the effective method of breaking down legal barriers, by bold and persistent disregard of restrictive laws and by the corrupt use of money and political influence. Great gaming houses (all unlawful, but protected by corrupt officials) were operated at Hot Springs, French Lick, Saratoga, Palm Beach, Sulphur Springs and near St. Petersburg, where the devotees of Chance, resplendent in evening dress and jewels, might number 500 men and women at play simultaneously, or waiting for vacancies at the tables. Some of the gambling casinos in rural regions surpassed in patronage Monte Carlo and boasted of their $100,000 nights, as the jockey clubs did of their $1,000,000 days. These patrons were not all adventuresses and dissipators of fortunes, or liquor sellers, procurers and thieves out for a good time. Many of them were scions of decadent families, or the sons and daughters of parents, eminent in society, business and government.

With the resumption of flat racing in Canada in 1919, under a government tax of $6,000 a day, plus 20 per cent of all receipts, the 11 pari-mutuel gambling tracks of Kentucky and Maryland were more heavily taxed, but did not contest the levy, which brought the jockey clubs into amicable relations with state governments and frustrated popular movements for the abolishment of gambling. Maryland mile tracks, in 1919, paid a tax of $6,000 a day (Pimlico, $9,000 a day) and 15 per cent of receipts, but their pari-mutuels have totaled as high as $64,000,000 in a year. The pari-mutuels are preferred by all jockey clubs, as they wrest the rich profits of gaming from the former bookmakers, who either retire or develop the lucrative and illicit business of the pool-rooms and hand-books. Pari-mutuel wagering was legalized in Nevada in 1915 and general gambling in 1931, but neither proved profitable. Utah in 1927 repealed its permissive race-track gambling law, as the state's share was a mere driblet. Montana's joker legalization of 1929 does not tax betting and disclaims its existence. Illinois legalized the pari-mutuels (1927) by a majority of one in the senate. Florida legalized wagering on both horses and dogs (1931) over Gov. Carlton's veto. In 17 years (1916-1932) the proponents of race-track gambling attempted legalization in 120 legislatures in 31 states. Results: two enactments, one repeal.



This beautiful outdoor establishment, known as Arlington Park, was opened in 1927 for the profitable business of receiving wagers from Chicago's horse-minded citizens, whose admission fees and betting losses yielded this jockey club a million dollars of profits, after paying $1,250,000 of expenses for the 30 days meet. Supervision of the pati-mutuels cost $180,000 and Roy Carruthers of the board of directors receives $40,000 for supervision. Among the eminent on this board are L. H. Armour, Samuel Insull, Albert D. Lasker, E. N. Hurley, Silas H. Strawn and William Wrigley.

Legalizing in Depression

As morality may be battered down by acute, physical distress, and good people may lie, steal or commit cannibalism, so governments have "gone haywire" since the Great Crash of 1929 (partly caused by stock gambling), which wiped out $150,000,000,000 of valuation and confronted cities, states and the nation with insolvency. Our befuddled legislative doctors now declare, "We'll cure the dog by giving him more poison." In 1933, permissive bills for race-track gambling were introduced in 32 states and enacted in 10 (Cal., Mich., N. H., N. Mex., N. C., O., Ore., Tex., Wash. and W. Va.) The golden bait, dangled before legislators, frantically seeking funds for the state, was this: "Legalize our pari-mutuels and give us a racing commission over our rust rival trotting tracks, and we will give the virtuous and needy state a fat 'cut' of the pari-mutuel 'take' and a percentage of our 'gate'." And all the sons of Esau voted, "So let it be." Those selling the honor of the commonwealths knew not how little they would receive in return. In 1932, the state revenues from "racing" in Florida, Illinois, Kentucky

and Maryland totaled only $2,086,-640.60 from 28 tracks in choice racing territory. Following years will be leaner. The tracks retain about 10% of each bet, and the state retains about 10% of the track's tenth. This does not mean that the state obtains a dime on each $10 bet, because six times more (Prof. Jerome Davis' estimate) is bet through pool-room and hand-books, distant from the tracks, and as untaxable as the business of smugglers and burglers.

Argument for Gambling

The old argument persists that "Racing is necessary to improve the breed of horses," but in sincerity means, "Gambling is necessary to draw thousands to a betting ring alongside an oval, circled half-hourly, race after race, day after day and week after week, as monotonously as the turning of a roulette wheel." The thoroughbred backers, assuming that there can be no "racing" where money is not wagered, ignore these facts: (1) Trotting tracks in the United States for standard breds are 51 times more numerous than running tracks for gambling. (2) The horse industry, diminished by the automobile, has dropped, even in Kentucky, to less than one-third ($800,000) of the poultry business. (3) Racing bills, providing that part or all of the betting tax shall be given to agricultural fairs, are attempts to silence objectors. The officers of the Ohio Fair Managers Association, on February 28, 1933, in their meeting at Columbus, unanimously declared: "The creation of a racing commission and the legalization of pari-mutuel betting in Ohio would eliminate harness racing and county fairs in the state of Ohio." (4) It is fiction that the thoroughbred is a hypersensitive creature which can not exist on hay and oats like the vulgar standardbred, but can step marvelously fast around the mile oval with its manikin rider, only when he sees the throng at the rail, hears the click-click of the pari-mutuels and scents the long green under the grand stand.

For Gambling $3,000,000,000 Per Year

The growth of gambling in the United States becomes ominous, when its tentacles grasp ten states in one year, and lawmakers of several states and of the nation seriously entertain proposals for legalization of state lotteries and of a billion-dollar national lottery. Mr. Arthur Brisbane commented on this, saying, "If Satan is a reality, with hoofs, a forked tail and horns, he must grin when he sees a highly civilized Christian nation relying partly for its expenses on alcohol and suggesting gambling as an additional provider. Saloons, then lotteries. Would gambling houses, to raise funds, come next? * * * Will some earnest Representative suggest a nation-wide chain of Government dance halls, with obliging ladies, highly colored and ornamented, to help in the Government expenses?" Gambling has been increasing for several years, but never so fast as now. Hundreds of millions are wasted yearly on punch-boards, and as much more on lotteries. Authorities estimate that one billion dollars a year is spent on the "numbers lottery." Race-track gambling takes about two billions. Our total gambling exceeds $3,000,000,000 a year in the United States, but Howard McLellan (Herald-Tribune Magazine, December 17, 1933) says that the total is six billions. Gambling is the most devastating of all vices, as to property. It threatens our national destruction.

What Makes For Peace

William Parsons, D.D.

POSITIVE and creative forces and programs are far more vital to the future than iconoclastic dealing with existing evils. This fact is beginning to emerge slowly in the struggle for a warless world. The world's war makers know how to forestall destructive attacks of Pacifists which merely inveigh against the horrors and waste and futility of war. But they are comparatively helpless against a real program of peacemaking that will bring from the future the designation of "the sons of God" to those who formulate it. Such a program still awaits fabrication.

As a trifling help toward this desirable end here are six suggestions, worthy at least of consideration.

All should definitely undertake to distinguish between Christian and non-Christian internationalism. We need as much as anything a clear definition of Christian internationalism. We are confronted today by four types of internationalism. They are the capitalistic, the communistic, an aimless humanistic type and a definitely Christian type.

The first of these is characterized by three principles. They are: cultivate trade and commerce for your own personal and nationalistic advantage; invest capital where it will yield the largest return in money; let the flag follow the investment and protect it, diplomatically if possible but forcibly if necessary.

The second or communistic internationalism seeks to penetrate every nation with the Marxian philosophy of life in order to create and establish the idea of the rule of the proletariat or those popularily dubbed the "have nots."

The third or aimless type is based upon the assumption that if a nation determines for itself what its own best interests are, and goes about what it considers its own business in its own way, carries a big stick but walks softly and with no particular world end in view.

Neither of these are Christian internationalism. Both are as sure to lead to war as the same policies within the nation lead to panic, depression and civil war.

Christian Internationalism

A Christian internationalism is based upon five essentially Biblical principles:

1. God has appointed the natural boundaries of every nation both in time and territory and men should acquiesce in these natural providences.
2. Every form of government which ministers to the well-being of its people has the divine sanction back of it.
3. Exploitations, depredations and all other forms of offense, committed by one nation against another are as reprehensible in nations as they are in individuals or corporations.
4. Peace and order should be maintained by universal organization. No government is under any moral obligation to protect the world against offending nations or to punish malefactors among the nations, but that is a joint responsibility for the whole world.
5. In this world rule the ethics and laws of Christ must finally become the world's standard of law or the law of nations.

The first choice of the real peacemaker is to adopt this type, define these principles, and then steadily apply them. Even in the definition

(Continued on page 8)

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

Founded in 1867

Devoted to Christian Political and Social Science

Official Organ of

THE NATIONAL REFORM ASS'N

An organization of Christian citizens founded in 1863

Published Monthly, except July and August, at the Association's Headquarters,

209 Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

R. H. MARTIN, Editor-in-Chief

WM. PARSONS, Associate Editor

Rates, $1.00 the year, payable in advance.

Entered as Second Class Matter, July 30, 1906 at Pittsburgh, Pa., under Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Liquor and Automobile Accidents

Evidence is accumulating to show that since the return of legal liquor there has been a growing increase in automobile accidents due to drinking and drunken drivers. Our readers here probably noticed, as we have, the frequency with which newspapers report auto accidents in which drunkenness is charged against the drivers. One of our friends and subscribers from Florida has sent us numerous clippings of this character from Florida papers and an editorial from the Miami Herald on this subject.

The editorial says, "Directing an automobile in crowded streets calls for a clear head, a steady hand and keen eye, a person ever elert for emergencies, recognizing the rules and courtesies of the road. No one with his wits befuddled by alcohol is capable of performing this function, and he is a threat to life and limb."

Continuing the editorial says, "Fatalities and serious accidents of late have been attributable to intoxicated drivers," and commends Judge James A. Dunn of the Miami Municipal Court for the heavy fines and jail sentences he is imposing on drunken drivers.

"An amazing and alarming factor in the arresting and sentencing of the drunken drivers," says the editorial, "is the proportion of women among them. If this is evidence of feminist freedom and the mark of equality, then the old timers may well long for the return of the days when woman's place was in the home and not in front of a bar or driving a car while intoxicated."

This friend suggests that The Christian Statesman make a collection of newspaper clippings of auto accidents due to liquor, with a view to publishing them, or a summary of them. We are glad to follow this suggestion and ask the co-operation of our readers in sending us newspaper clippings of this character. Be sure to give name of newspaper and date of issue. Our readers might also make a collection for their own use.

Now that John Barleycorn is again a legal and respectable citizen let us know the truth as to what is doing on the highways of America.

—o—

"The Sky Is The Limit"

Shall the United States commit itself to an expenditure of over $1,500,000,000 on a building up of its Navy and substitute the "Big Stick" for the "Good Neighbor" policy in dealing with other Nations? This question, of tremendous moment, is now before Congress. The Vinson Bill (H.R. 6604) which is being rushed through Congress (it has passed the House and is now before the Senate) is the most formidable threat to peace on the Pacific that has occurred in many years.

It seems incredible, but nevertheless is true, that THREE building programs are now proposed:

First, our annual budget of $285,000,000 is providing for continuing construction of

20 naval vessels

Second, the sum of $238,000,000 has been borrowed from the Capitol's Public Works Fund to build in addition

32 naval vessels

Third, The Vinson Bill would authorize the replacement of the rest of the Fleet as fast as treaties permit. This includes all the battle ships as well as destroyers, submarines and plane-carriers, and would cost, if carried out in full, approximately a thousand million dollars ($1,000,000,000) **more.** The Navy Department estimates that the maintenance of a Treaty Navy would cost $500,000,000 a year. The first and second provides for the building of 52 vessels with a tonnage of 222,060.

Not since the war year of 1917-1918 has the United States had so many ships under construction at one time. Nevertheless it is proposed that approximately 100 additional vessels should be constructed during the next four or five years.

And this is proposed in the midst of the worst financial calamity of our national history, with the majority of our people almost breaking under the financial strain, with constant calls for hundreds of millions to relieve hunger and starvation, and with taxes already so high that vast numbers of our people are utterly unable to pay them.

But the financial outlay involved in this program is by no means its worst feature. It has already stimulated other countries, Great Britain and Japan, to increase their Naval Building program, thus accentuating the race in armaments, and is breaking down the spirit of mutual understanding and trust among the nations and increasing the obstacles in the way of the success of the 1935 Naval Conference.

We ask a careful reading of "International Ramifications of the United States Naval Program", found elsewhere in this issue, for a better understanding of the naval program now before Congress, of its effects upon other countries, the utter lack of necessity for it, and its dangerous character.

We believe that if the American people had before them the facts regarding this program there would be a tremendous up-rising of public sentiment against it and a demanding of Congress that the Vinson Bill be defeated.

Let every one of our readers write their senators immediately urging—even demanding—the defeat of this bill, and let them have the organizations to which they belong do the same; also write the President, and it might be well also to send a letter to your representative in the House of Representatives.

—o—

International Sabbath School Lessons and the Sabbath

In our new book "The Day; A Manual on the Christian Sabbath" attention is called to the comparative failure of the Sabbath schools of the churches to give instruction on Sabbath Observance over a long period of years in the following statement:

> "During the period from 1874 to 1933 inclusive, a period of 60 years, the 3,124 lessons compiled by the International Sunday School Lessons Committee, have dealt directly and fully with the subject of Sabbath Observance in only 20 of these lessons. This subject has been dealt with in part, chiefly in connection with the other commandments, in only 15 others. While in 32 of these 60 years no part of any of the Sabbath School Lessons has dealt with this subject."

This statement has created widespread surprise and interest.

A communication was addressed by The National Reform Association to the International Uniform Lessons Committee which held a meeting in Chicago this month, calling attention to this fact and urging the Committee to give a much larger place in the lessons to this important subject in time to come. Similar communications were addressed to the Committee by representatives of several other organizations. That these communications received sympathetic consideration by the Committee and will prove fruitful is evidenced by the following communication received from the Secretary of the Committee:

February the Twentieth
Nineteen thirty-four

Dr. R. H. Martin, President,
National Reform Association,
209 Ninth Street,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sir:

At the meeting of the Committee on Improved Uniform Lessons, Dr. R. L. Lanning presented your letter of February 9th, together with three other letters referring to the same subject. A committee was appointed to consider this correspondence, and the following report was prepared and adopted:

"There have been placed in the hands of your committee four papers: one from the National Reform Association, signed by R. H. Martin, President; a second from the Pennsylvania Council of Churches, signed by William L. Mudge, Executive Secretary; a third from the Lord's Day Alliance of Pennsylvania, signed by Wm. B. Forney, General Secretary; and a fourth from the Lord's Day Alliance of Maryland, signed by W. W. Davis, General Secretary.

The purport of these letters is along the same line. They call attention to the importance of the Lord's Day and to the fact that it has been continuously assailed in the last half-century. They also note that the Committee on Uniform Lessons has seemed to overlook its importance in selecting Sunday School Lessons over a period of sixty years. We recommend—

1. That the Committee on Improved Uniform Lessons express our appreciation that these organizations have called this important matter to our attention.

2. That we fully agree that the Lord's Day is a basic institution in our church and in our nation.

3. That we will give a place to this vital subject, so far as may be consistent in a study of the whole Bible by the youth and adults in our schools. Lessons for 1936 have already been adopted.

The Committee on Improved Uniform Lessons appreciates your interest in this matter. The discussion in the Committee showed plainly that members of the Committee are in full sympathy with your aims to promote the observance of the Lord's Day, and are agreed that full consideration be given in the choice of materials for the Uniform Lessons.

Very sincerely yours,
GEORGE A. LITTLE,
(Secretary of Committee on
Improved Uniform Lessons)

—o—

"Dividends of Death"

Dr. H. E. Woolever, Washington, D.C., Editor, National Methodist Press, declares that our Army and Navy Officials at Washington are all "on their toes" in preparation for war. In a recent interview one of these officials said to him:

"We have our plans all mapped out. We know just where we can get our tin, copper, powder, and other necessary materials, on short notice. We have additional men in preparation. The 30,000 boys in the Civilian Conservation Camps are being trained under military officers."

Dr. Woolever protesting there must not be another war, the officer replied, "We know how you feel about it but we are going to have war before another Christmas. We are getting ready." To Dr. Woolever's charge that the psychology of our group of professional fighters was largely due to propaganda by munitions-makers, he replied, "Munitions-makers do not have much influence upon us." To which Dr. Woolever rejoined, "That shows the stupidity of your departmental groups. You mean well but the big munitions-makers like the DuPonts, Bethlehem Steel Corporation, etc., do not come to you directly. Congressional investigations show this fact. Instead they send under-cover men who whisper in mysterious ways so as to reach your intelligence agents, 'That England has just ordered, secretly, so many guns and so much armament; Japan is secretly building war ships; you fellows better look out!'

"This information or misinformation is carried up to the Admirals and on to the Secretary of the Navy, who gives the desired civilian backing. But while these agents of a trade that wishes, without regard to human costs, to make great profits—millions and billions of dollars—are whispering to the Military and Naval Intelligence Agents of the United States, they are also carrying on the same program with Japan, England and France. In addition, the munitions-makers manage and manipulate the newspapers as official evidence showed following the World War. Thus they got the peoples of the Nation all stirred up against each other, and fearing a rivalry in armaments a suspicion is developed by the would be munitions-makers until a bloody warfare breaks out.

"Mighty stakes are at issue. The extent of the munitions-makers' greedy accomplishments is appalling. Arthur Henderson, former Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, and the president of the Disarmament Conference, has made this statement: "An average of the military expenditures of 61 countries during the last four or five years reaches the immense sum of $4,000,000,000 annually.

"The profits are prodigious, which fact prompts the munitions-makers to encourage war. Between 1905 and 1915, the DuPont Company sold to the United States $25,000,000 worth of powder, ranging in price from 53 cents to 80 cents a pound, although government experiments showed the same product could be made even in small quantities for 36 cents a pound! In 1913 the War Department bought shrapnel from private manufacturers at the rate of $25.25, as compared with the cost of identical shrapnel manufactured by the government-owned Frankford Arsenal for $15.45.

"The Hercules Powder Company of Delaware increased its dividends from 8 per cent in 1914 to 95 per cent in 1916, while the taxpayers went without sugar and paid the powder manufacturers their large profits. In the three war years 1916-18, it earned $621,000,000 net profits. United States Steel earned $180,000,000. The government paid $440 a ton for armor plate for which an official committee reported $247 to be a fair price.

"German munitions-manufacturers who included the French government among their customers, used the Paris papers to tell how the French were arming, in order to inflame their own German people for the purpose of selling more mu-

Association Activities

So many live articles for this issue only small space left for brief summary of a few of Associations activities.

Cameron Ralston, Field Director, gave one of the main addresses before the Annual Convention of the Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Harrisburg, on "The Church and Social Reform". He also spoke at one of the department conferences of the conventions. These messages were well received and created favorable comment. Addressed the School Directors meeting of Dauphlin County, Pa., at Harrisburg. He is to give addresses each morning at the chapel house, to the students of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa., for the week, beginning March 19th. Dr. R. H. Martin, recently spoke before the following Ministerial Associations—Johnstown, Rochester, Beaver Falls, Pa. and on February 26th the Ministerial Association of New Castle, Pa. On each occasion he spoke on the Sabbath Situation and presented the matter of conducting a seminar on "The Christian Sabbath." On February 13th he spoke to the Students of the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa., on the Sabbath and presented each student with a copy of his book on the Sabbath "The Day". Same in the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary the day following.

---

nitions to the German nation.

"The 'Dividends of Death' are the motivating forces in the plans of hardened munitions profiteers, who know no loyalty to country and recognize no limitations of national boundaries. British soldiers were shot down by powder furnished by a trust controlled by British firms, and German soldiers fell before guns manufactured in Germany and sold through Switzerland to the Allies."

In the face of conditions such as this tending mightily to thrust us into another world catastrophe, what shall citizens who are against war do? Two things at least they should do immediately: First, write their representatives in Congress demanding an investigation of the munitions-makers and their methods. Second, write their Senators at Washington demanding that Vinson Bill (H.R. 6604) now before the Senate, providing for a tremendous increase in our Naval Building program, be defeated.

New-Time or Old-Time Saloons

Georgia Robertson

If your doctor said it was necessary in your case to give up candy, of which you were fond, would it be easier if it were banished from your home and office, or would it be just as easy to let it alone if it were within reach all the time? You know without making the test.

Or, if it were your child would you feel you were giving him a square deal in carrying out the doctor's orders if you kept candy in his sight and also ate it before him? Would he be more likely to disobey orders with it in easy reach all the time to tempt him, or if you planned so he would seldom see it and would have difficulty in getting it? You know the answers.

Will it lessen drinking to have beer and light wines sold in a multitude of places where men, women, young people, and children continually have occasion to go—as grocery stores, drug stores, lunchrooms, restaurants and hotels?

Will there be less temptation to use alcoholic beverages when sold in these respectable places where every one must go—even women, girls and boys—with beer and wine bottles on display and freely sold, with apparent perfect respectability and "good form" to partake of, or to have the same beverages sold in the old-time saloon behind darkened windows and screened doors as though something to be ashamed of, and indulged in only when hidden from sight and where women and young people were forbidden to enter, and into which self-respecting men used to be ashamed to be seen going?

And what of the vast army of young girls and young men who must virtually become bartenders in these stores and eating places unless they give up their jobs and face starvation for themselves and their dependents? If they remain they will also have constant temptation thrust upon them.

These new-time saloons frequented by women and girls will cause more drunkenness than the old-time saloons.

Are you going to be one of those who by your example will help to make serving of alcoholic beverages fashionable and popular among your "set" and so be instrumental in causing drunkenness? Are you going to make no protest against having hundreds of licensed places in your town? Dare you say it does not concern you?

Quiet Observer Column

Rev. H. B. Mansell

While we are waiting for repeal to fulfill the promise of prosperity for everybody it may be worth while to consider how far prohibition contributed to prosperity.

It was in December, 1917 that Congress submitted the Prohibition Amendment to the state legislatures. By January 16, 1919, the requisite number of states had ratified and a year later it went into official effect. But in practice war restrictions gave a large measure of prohibition during 1919. It has been said that prohibition was a major cause of the depression which came late in 1929. That seems hard to believe. The young theolog asked Father Taylor for an opinion on his sermon. The reply was, "Son, if your text had the smallpox your sermon would never have caught it." If prohibition carried the germs of depression smallpox the country was a long time in catching it.

As a matter of fact the period of prosperity ending in 1930 was the longest the country ever enjoyed. It was also the greatest in volume and the best distributed. But it was accompanied by reckless speculation and greed, by gross betrayal of public trust by men in key financial positions. The crash come as it did in 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893 and for similar causes. But never before was there such diffusion of wealth, a diffusion that has enabled the country to endure the present evils with less turmoil than any previous depression. The thrift that enabled the country to accumulate the enormous number of 122,212,000 life insurance policies for a total insurance barely under 200 billion dollars is testimony to the widespread distribution of prosperity in the years ending with 1930 and the drop in insurance since then has been surprisingly small.

There is no economist of repute who denies that prohibition was a factor in such an achievement. The prophecy is ventured that no economist of repute ten years hence will subscribe to the view that repeal promotes prosperity. Meanwhile I know of some business men who were against prohibition who are now disgusted with repeal. Before repeal they had men who were paying a little on bills owed for necessities. Now they see those men go into the liquor store, come out with packages but never come near the store that supplied their needs on trust.

International Ramifications of the U. S. Naval Program

William T. Stone of the Foreign Policy Association

I. The Present Naval Program

The naval building program authorized by the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and financed largely from the $238,000,000 allocated by the Public Works Administration is the largest single program to be undertaken by any county since the World War. It provides for the construction and equipment of 32 vessels and supplements the replacement program previously authorized by Congress and financed by Congressional appropriations. The combined program totals 52 vessels with a total tonnage of 222,060. Not since the war years 1917-1918 has the United States had so many ships under construction at one time.

Despite the fact that it will still leave the fleet somewhat below the maximum levels permitted in the London and Washington treaties by December 31, 1936, the current program has already had serious repercussions abroad, particularly in Great Britain and Japan. It is now proposed that approximately 100 additional vessels should be constructed during the next four or five years. Two bills authorizing a program designed to bring the fleet up to the maximum levels of the London and Washington treaties have been introduced in Congress with the backing of the Navy Department. The adoption of either of these measures would aggravate an international situation which is already serious, would stimulate further naval competition and jeopardize the conclusion of a naval agreement at the 1935 conference.

The international consequences of increased naval construction at this time should be carefully weighed before embarking on a new program.

II. Competition With Great Britain and Japan

The Public Works Program has already stimulated new naval construction in Great Britain and Japan. Great Britain has modified its 1934 program as a result of the American decision to proceed with the building of four new 10,000 ton 6-inch gun cruisers. Instead of building three small cruisers, as originally planned, Great Britain will lay down two large curisers of approximately 9,000 tons each and one small vessel during the present year.

Great Britain has a special interest in the size of new foreign cruisers' because in the London treaty she pledged herself not to complete more than 91,000 tons of cruisers during the seven years covered by the pact.

The American program has strengthened the demand that Great Britain invoke the "escalator" clause of the London treaty—permitting a signatory power to increase its tonnage in the event of excessive naval building by other countries. Should France and Italy adopt the 10,000 ton type introduced by the United States, it is predicted that Great Britain will invoke this clause of the London treaty.

Japan has embarked on a "second replenishment" program calling for the construction of 24 vessels to bring the fleet up to the maximum levels of the London treaty by 1936. Although the Japanese Navy had begun to press for new construction early in 1933, the alleged "menace" of the American program was used to win popular support for the enlarged "replenishment" schedule.

The construction of the approximately 100 additional vessels by the United States, if approved by Congress, would aggravate a situation already serious.

III. The Present Status

Before examining the case for and against a treaty navy it may be useful to review briefly the present status of the United States, Great Britain and Japan.

The United States fleet today is not inferior to the British fleet and is considerably above that of Japan. The comparative strength of the three great navies on January 1, 1934, on the basis of ships actually built, was as follows:

Country	Total ships built	
	No.	Tons
United States	372	1,038,660
British Empire	293	1,174,339
Japan	221	758,261

A larger proportion of the American fleet is made up of over-age vessels, especially in the categories of destroyers and submarines. However, the present building program of the United States, which is larger than that of Great Britain or Japan, will improve the relative position of the United States by 1936. The United States is now building 52 ships totaling 222,060 tons, as compared with 47 ships of 123,785 tons for Great Britain, and 47 ships of 123,372 tons for Japan. The results are shown by the following table, compiled by the United States Navy Department, showing ships now built and projected that will be under-age in 1936:

Country	Ships under-age in 1936	
	No.	Tons
United States	113	988,520
British Empire	161	999,398
Japan	183	775,370

In 1936 the strength of the American Navy will be approximately 83 per cent of the maximum tonnage allowed under the London and Washington treaties. The strength of the British Navy will also be 83 per cent of the total treaty tonnage, while the Japanese Navy will be 100 per cent. Additional building by the United States at this time can only lead to competition with Great Britain.

IV. The Case For a Treaty Navy

The big Navy advocates justify the program to build up to the maximum Treaty Levels, partly on the ground that a Treaty Navy is essential if the fleet is to carry out its various "Missions" as the first line of defense. Among these are:

To "control the sea in defense of the nation and its interests";

To support "The national policies" of the U. S.;

To foster "the development of American foreign commerce";

To "defend trade routes";

To "protect American life and property"; etc.

These objects are not only thoroughly inconsistent with our international obligations and our national policy, but they are objects which cannot be effectively carried out by a "treaty navy" under any circumstances.

A treaty navy does not give the United States command of the seas in Far Eastern waters. The Japanese navy undor the 5-3 ratio is at least the equal and probably the superior of the United States in the Far East.

A treaty does not permit the United States to defend the Philippine Islands.

A treaty navy is totally inadequate to protect American trade routes. It is difficult to see how any navy can foster the development of foreign trade.

A treaty navy does not permit the United States to exercise a decisive political influence in Asia.

(Continued page 8, 3rd column)

What Makes For Peace

(Continued from page 3)

of self defense the law of nations should be as strict as the law for individuals.

The Great Renunciation

The second step in putting into effect this Christian World Program is for each nation to renounce all claim of any sort of right to exercise any functions of government as an individual nation, within the territory of another nation or upon the high seas. When on January 3rd, President Roosevelt signalized the first regular meeting of Congress under the Twentieth Amendment by his revised statement of the Monroe doctrine, he renounced for the United States all claim to any right to either punitive or administrative intervention within the territory of any Latin American country and asserted that to be the joint responsibility of every nation on the Western Hemisphere, he was taking a long step forward in Christian internationalism. One can only wonder if in his own mind he included Canada within that scheme, for sooner or later that principle will have to be extended to every nation on earth.

The Kellogg-Briand Treaty was also a long step in this renunciation and it is probably fortunate that in the present status of the world there was no attempt to implement this treaty by any kind of force. It will be better to allow it to be the world's Schoolmaster for two generations.

Three Suppressions

The third step in this program is for each nation to suppress within its own people all racial and cultural jingoism. The dictionary defines a jingo as "one who is in favor of a vigorous and aggressive foreign policy." Either we shall have to expand this definition to include Japanese race pride, Hitler's Teutonism and American vain—glory, or coin a word to designate these ugly developments of racial and national egoism. It might be called national or racial priggishness, but call it what you will, it is one of the chief creators of the war spirit and its suppression must precede any abiding world peace.

The second great suppression must be the desire on the part of the nationals of one country, to possess or control the natural resources of another country. Mexican oil, Liberian rubber—which smells so odiously about the Firestone aggregation—Cuban sugar, Manchurian coal and iron. The Saar valley, the Peruvian nitrates and the Grand chaco, are just a few illustrations of the desire on the part of the nationals of one country to control, for exploitation purposes, the resources of another country. There is no greater war producer in the world today, than this desire and the present world policy of gratifying it. It will require a far wider circle of personal regeneration and a far more extensive social thinking than at present exists, before this cupidity is stamped out. And it is of little use to hope for world peace, until it is. If a citizen of the United States wishes to exploit Brazilian or Liberian rubber, let him go to those nations, become a citizen of them and work for their interests, or if he is not willing to do this, let him buy rubber in the open markets of the world.

A third great suppression must be of the citizens of one nation attempting by any means, to shape the government or policy of another, except through authorized diplomatic channels. Illustrations of this irritating, war-producing policy are not hard to find. The Firestone imposition of an indentured labor policy on Liberia, the propaganda of France and the wine-growing nations of Europe in the United States, the efforts of citizens of Vatican City toward the same end, the meddling of citizens of the United States in the policies of Mexico and the Central American and the Carribean Republics, the Communist societies in most nations under the direction of the Third Internationale and Fascist organizations in the United States, whether directed from Rome or Berlin; all these must be sternly repressed by every nation in which they originate. Every nation must begin its peace work here by vigorously sweeping its own door yard. All of these things will be a fruitful source of war, until they are suppressed.

Thinking Equality

The final item of this program, is the cultivation of the habit of thinking concerning every race and nationality, that they are born equal and have certain inalienable rights to live their own life in their own homeland, maintain their own independence, cultivate their civilization and enjoy all of their resources, so long as that life of independence, and civilization and use of resources, do not become a location of moral, social, or physical infection to the rest of the world.

When all people learn to think that way and are willing to grant recognition of these rights freely to all others, to cultivate an appreciation of every good thing in the life and civilization of all nations, there will come an atmosphere in which war will die through lack of interest.

The cultivation of this program, will reach the goal of universal peace far quicker than the present pacifist indiscriminate denunciation of all war, defensive as well as offensive, civil or international as unqualifiedly evil, or their attempts to bully their own nation by refusing police support in the name of conscience. In the estimation of many soundly Christian thinkers, the antics of many present day Pacifists, tend to bring reproach upon the cause of world peace, because their fundamental effect is toward anarchy, rather than orderly world society, but no one can object to the teaching in season and out of season the above program and embodying it in law and policy as rapidly as possible.

International Ramifications of the U.S. Naval Program

(Continued from page 7)

When the United States agreed not to fortify naval bases in the Pacific and when it signed the Washington treaties in 1922, it voluntarily relinquished the claim to naval supremacy in Asia.

V. The Question of Policy

Whether or not the fleet should be increased at this time depends on what we want the Navy for. This is a question of national policy to be decided by the President and Congress, not by the Navy.

If we want a navy strong enough to insure command of the seas in the Far East, to give the United States a decisive political influence in Asia, to defend trade routes, etc., we must build not a treaty navy, but a fleet capable of defeating the strongest possible combination which might be brought against it and with naval bases in the Far East.

On the other hand, if the primary object is to defend American soil, then the problem is very different. The present fleet even before the completion of the Public Works program is more than sufficient for the defense of the territorial United States, Hawaii, and the Panama Canal. For defense purposes additional naval construction is unnecessary. It is merely provocative